

Jurnal Kebijakan Publik

Vol. 16, No. 2, June, 2025

Homepage: http://jkp.ejournal.unri.ac.id

Election Governance as a Collective Political Process: A Study of Local Political Management in North Central Timor Regency

Ignasius Usboko[®], Melkianus Suni[®], Surya Yudha Regif[®]

Government Science Study Program, Faculty of Social Sciences and Political Sciences, Timor University

Corresponding Author Email: usbokoignasius@gmail.com

Received: April 23, 2025 Revised: June 11, 2025 Accepted: June 30, 2025

Keywords:

Local political management, Regional elections, Collective politics, Milennial participation, Social media.

ABSTRACT

This rticle aims to understand the regional elections as a collective political process strough the practice of local political management involving the milenial generation and utilization of social media, particularly face book in the North Central Timor Regency (TTU). Based on the results of a quantitave study involving 200 milenial respondents who participate in the 2020 TTU regional elections it was found that the political participation of the younger generation is very high and diverse including rules as simpathizers, organizer, success team and party members. Social media has become the main channel mediating political information, building social - political networks and strengthening the relationship between voters and candidates. Local political governance in regional elections takes place through interactions based on social networks, collective values and informal consensus. This article suggest the importance of designing regional elections as a collaborative space that recognize the rule oh the younger generation and the power of digital communication in realizing substantial and inclusive local democrazy.

INTRODUCTION

The regional elections are not merely an electoral procedural arena, but also a complex social-political contestation space at the local level. In the North Central Timor (TTU) Regency, the 2020 regional elections reflect the local political dynamics involving various actors actively, especially the millennial generation. They emerged not only as voters, but also as technical organizers, sympathizers, success teams, and producers of political information through social media. A study by Suni (2024) shows that social media, particularly Facebook, became the primary channel for millennial voters to access, produce, and distribute political information during the TTU 2020 local elections. In this context, the regional elections became a collective political arena, where participation occurs not only formally but also through digital and social practices that are autonomous.

This phenomenon is also influenced by the Covid-19 pandemic, which limited conventional campaign spaces and drove the transformation of political communication into the digital realm. Facebook has become the most dominant medium used by millennials to obtain candidate information, express support, and gather public opinion online. Their roles include being viewers, commentators, information sharers, and producers of political narratives that directly impact voting decisions (Suni, 2021).

This finding reinforces Lim's (2014) opinion that social media in Indonesia, although it does not automatically trigger collective action, remains an important medium for the political articulation process, especially when used in a conducive social ecosystem. In the case of TTU, social networks based on kinship and customary relations actually enhance the reach of the digital politics conducted by millennials. Zulkarnaen (2020) also emphasizes that millennial voters are a strategic group in the Indonesian voting

map, but conventional methods are not sufficient to engage their political interests. In TTU, this is evident in how Facebook is actively used by the youth to shape opinions and even engage in mobilization.

Furthermore, Coleman (2013) and Postill (2012) explain that digital politics is an arena where new political ties are formed, with media acting as a mediator between private and public spaces. Digital politics creates a field of interaction that enables citizens, especially the younger generation, to participate actively in decision-making, even if not through formal political channels. Therefore, the Regional Election in TTU becomes relevant as a case study of how social media, the millennial generation, and local traditions shape distinctive practices of collective political management.

The rapid proliferation of digital technologies has transformed the ways in which political communication, mobilization, and participation take place at both national and local levels (Asimakopoulos, et. al, 2025). In many developing democracies, including Indonesia, the rise of internet penetration and smartphone usage has opened new avenues for citizens to engage with political actors and issues (Saud & Margono, 2021). Social media platforms, in particular, have emerged as powerful tools for political campaigns, public discourse, and grassroots movements. These platforms enable the rapid dissemination of information, the shaping of public opinion, and the mobilization of collective action across geographic and social boundaries. This transformation has altered not only the speed and scale of political interaction but also its nature, introducing a more participatory and interactive dimension to the political process (Van Tatenhove & Leroy,

At the local level, these changes are especially evident in regions where traditional political structures intersect with new digital practices (Pohle & Voelsen, 2022). In rural and

semi-urban areas, digital media can bridge the gap between established socio-political norms and the aspirations of younger, more technologically adept generations. In such contexts, the interplay between offline cultural values—such as kinship ties, customary leadership, and communal decision-making—and online communication channels produces unique patterns of political engagement. This phenomenon is particularly salient in areas undergoing demographic shifts, where the younger generation is becoming an influential political force while still navigating the expectations of traditional governance systems.

Thus, this article departs from the need to understand the regional elections not only as a technocratic process but also as a social process managed collectively by local actors through digital channels and socio-cultural networks. The main focus of this study is to explore how the millennial generation, through their active roles on social media, shapes new political practices in a local context rich in deliberative values and patronage.

METHOD

This research employs a quantitative-descriptive approach. Data was collected through a survey of 200 millennial voter respondents in the TTU Regional Election 2020. The sampling technique used was stratified random sampling, taking into account geographic distribution and social characteristics. Data were analyzed using cross-tabulation and linear regression to examine the relationship between social media use and political participation levels.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The research findings indicate that the political participation of millennial voters in TTU is relatively high, at 91.5%. They not only exercise their voting rights but also play roles as supporters (39%), success teams (17.5%), organizers such as KPPS/PPK/Panwas (19%), and party members (12.5%). Social media has become the primary channel used for accessing political information, sharing content, and building political networks.

This finding reinforces Zulkarnaen's (2020) statement that millennial voters, although often regarded as apathetic, actually play a significant role in elections due to the quantity and exposure of information they have through social media. They are not just passive viewers, but also opinion makers and movers of the local political currents. In line with Postill (2012), this engagement shows how digital spaces allow local youth to participate in the political arena in new ways that are not always formally institutionalized.

Findings from Suni (2024) reinforce this picture. The research shows that Facebook has become the main medium for millennial voters in TTU to actively engage in the 2020 regional elections. The most dominant activities include being spectators and commentators of political content, but there is also a significant proportion that shares information (42%) and produces political content (21%). These findings indicate that millennials not only consume information but also create and spread local political narratives that influence the decisions of other voters.

Furthermore, Suni also found that social media helps millennials build emotional closeness with candidates, especially through symbolic interactions and two-way communication that occurs on Facebook. This reinforces the idea that social media not only serves as an informational tool but also as a relational medium that strengthens political support networks. In this case, existing social networks (such

as kinship relations, church communities, or youth groups) become increasingly solid when reinforced by online communication.

Political governance in the TTU regional elections shows a pattern of collective management, where local actors form alliances, share roles, and devise political strategies informally. Patron-client relationships, customary closeness, and local collective values form the basis for the consensus in supporting candidates. This demonstrates that local democracy does not always operate within the framework of hard competition, but also through consensus and deliberation based on social networks.

Lim (2014) reminds us that the effectiveness of social media in promoting political activism greatly depends on its social context. In the case of TTU, the social context dominated by collective values and community-based communication makes social media function as a complement to direct interactions, rather than a substitute. Meanwhile, Mufidah et al. (2019) emphasize that autonomous participation will have a greater impact than participation that is merely driven by invitations or appeals from others.

Bulqiyah et al. (2023) also shows that educational factors and the political culture of schools can strengthen the political awareness of youth. In TTU, this is reflected in the enthusiasm of millennial voters who are not only information users but also content producers and active participants in the candidate's campaign networks. They construct distinctive local political narratives—not solely based on party ideology, but based on social and community closeness.

Theoretically, this finding supports the views of Pierre & Peters (2000) regarding governance that involves various non-state actors in the decision-making process. Additio-nally, the concept of local political management (Crick, 1992) and autonomous participation (Huntington & Nelson, 1994) are relevant to explain how millennial voters are not only mobilized but also organize their own forms of par-ticipation.

These findings serve as a basis for further exploration of several key aspects of millennial political participation and the governance of the TTU regional elections, as outlined in the following subsection.

The Role of Facebook in Shaping Millennial Political Opinions

Research results show that Facebook has become the primary medium for millennial voters in Timor Tengah Utara (TTU) in obtaining, discussing, and forming political opinions during the 2020 Regional Elections. This platform not only provides a fast and easily accessible flow of information but also creates a public communication arena that transcends the boundaries of space and time. Suni (2021) emphasizes that interactions on Facebook play a dual role: on one hand, as an information channel that conveys candidate campaign messages, and on the other hand, as a public deliberation space that allows citizens to discuss political issues directly.

Theoritically, Northold argues that in the context of local democracy, digital media has the potential to expand political participation if it is harmoniously integrated with the existing political culture. In TTU, this is reflected in the connectivity among community members in cyberspace, which strengthens the social networks that have been established offline. The social relations built through family ties, tribes, and local communities serve as social capital used to broaden the reach of political messages through Facebook.

Field findings identify three main functions of Facebook in shaping millennial political opinions:

- Informational Function Facebook serves as a fast distribution channel for campaign agendas, candidates' activity schedules, and clarifications on political issues. Millennial users tend to share content from sources deemed credible, including official candidate accounts, local media, or community figures.
- 2. Persuasive Function Interactive features such as comments, live streaming, and sharing photos/videos are used to build a positive image for candidates. In many cases, discussions in the comment section play a role in reinforcing or changing voters' perceptions of certain candidates.
- 3. Mobilization Function Groups and personal messages on Facebook are used as coordination tools to attend campaigns, encourage voting, or volunteer for success teams. This mobilization model combines digital strategies with direct face-to-face invitations, thus merging the power of digital politics and community politics.

The social-cultural context of TTU strengthens the impact of Facebook on the formation of millennial political opinion. The TTU community has strong collective values and a tradition of deliberation that prioritizes consensus. Lim (2014) reminds us that the effectiveness of social media in promoting political activism is highly dependent on its social context. In the case of TTU, Facebook does not replace face-to-face interaction, but rather complements it. Online discussions often serve as a warm-up that is then continued in community meetings, traditional events, or informal gatherings.

Postill (2012) explains that digital politics creates a new field of interaction between private and public spaces. In the context of TTU, millennials utilize this space to voice opinions, produce local political narratives, and expand support networks. Uniquely, the narratives constructed do not merely follow party ideological lines, but are more based on personal closeness and community attachment.

The role of Facebook in shaping the political opinions of millennials has strategic implications when viewed from the perspective of local political management. First, candidates and successful teams that can manage digital communication sensitively to local culture tend to be more successful in gathering support. Second, the active participation of millennials in the digital space creates pressure for election organizers to ensure transparency and responsiveness. Third, the integration of digital strategies and community-based approaches can be an effective model for local elections in regions with similar social characteristics.

Thus, the role of Facebook in the TTU regional election is not only based on its ability to disseminate information quickly but also on its social function in connecting the digital world with the real world, strengthening social cohesion, and shaping the political opinions of millennials within a uniquely local democratic framework.

Table 1. Forms of Interaction of Millennial Voters on Facebook during the TTU 2020 Elections

Activity Description	Impact on Political	Data Source
-	Opinions	
Give likes and share posts of candidates, activity photos, or	Expanding the reach of the campaign message, strengthening	Suni (2021)
	Description Give likes and share posts of candidates, activity	Description Opinions Give likes and share posts of candidates, activity photos, or strengthening

mission		
quotes.	the candidate.	
Debating or	Encouraging	Lim
giving	the formation	(2014);
opinions in	of collective	Northold
the comment	opinion and	(1971)
section of	clarification of	
political posts	issues	
Following	Creating a	Suni
live	sense of	(2021);
broadcasts of	closeness with	Postill
speeches,	the candidates	(2012)
public	and building	
dialogues, or	trust	
candidate		
events		
Creating	Enhancing	Bulqiyah
memes, short	active	et al. (2023
videos, or	engagement	
writings that	and forming	
promote	local political	
candidates	narratives	
Organizing	Mobilizing	Mufidah et
the campaign	voters directly	al. (2019)
schedule,	and efficiently	
inviting	j	
friends to be		
present at the		
polling		
station.		
	Debating or giving opinions in the comment section of political posts Following live broadcasts of speeches, public dialogues, or candidate events Creating memes, short videos, or writings that promote candidates Organizing the campaign schedule, inviting friends to be present at the polling	quotes. Debating or giving opinions in the comment section of political posts Following live sense of broadcasts of speeches, public dialogues, or candidate events Creating memes, short videos, or writings that promote candidates Organizing the campaign schedule, inviting friends to be present at the polling Debating or the candidate. Encouraging the formation of collective opinion and clarification of issues Creating a sense of closeness with the candidates and building trust Enhancing active engagement active engagement and forming local political narratives Organizing the campaign schedule, inviting friends to be present at the polling

This table illustrates various forms of millennial voter interactions in TTU Regency through the Facebook platform during the 2020 regional elections, which played a significant role in shaping political opinions and mobilizing support. Firstly, liking and sharing campaign content is the most basic yet impactful form of participation. By clicking the like button or sharing the candidate's content, millennial voters indirectly expand the reach of the campaign message and strengthen the candidate's positive image. This activity is quick, easy to do, and effective in enhancing the exposure of the message within their social networks (Suni, 2021).

Second, public comments and discussions reflect more intensive interactions. Millennial voters not only receive information but also test and clarify issues through open debates in the comment sections. This process encourages the formation of collective opinions, strengthens certain political positions, and enhances digital political literacy (Lim, 2014; Northold, 1971).

Third, participation in live streaming campaigns allows young people to follow speeches, debates, or public dialogues of candidates in real-time. Real-time interaction creates a sense of emotional closeness and builds trust, as if the candidates are physically present in their public spaces (Suni, 2021; Postill, 2012).

Fourth, creating content oneself demonstrates creative and proactive participation. Millennials produce memes, short videos, or writings that promote candidates in accordance with their communication style. This activity not only expands the campaign message but also shapes a distinctive local political narrative that resonates with the community's culture (Bulqiyah et al., 2023). Finally, coordination through Facebook groups shows how social media is used for logistical purposes and direct mobilization. Closed or open groups are utilized to organize campaign schedules, divide volunteer tasks, and invite friends to attend at polling stations (TPS).

This practice speeds up coordination and reduces mobilization costs (Mufidah et al., 2019).

Overall, these five forms of interaction indicate that Facebook is not only an information channel but also a strategic arena for millennials to shape opinions, expand support networks, and efficiently mobilize voters within the framework of collaborative governance in the TTU local elections that combines digital space and local political traditions.

Millennial Participation Patterns: Autonomy vs Mobilization

The political participation of millennials in North Central Timor Regency (TTU) shows a diversity of forms and motivations that can be categorized into two major patterns: autonomous participation and mobilized participation. Conceptually, autonomous participation refers to citizen involvement driven by personal awareness, adequate information, and internal motivation to partake in the political process. Conversely, mobilized participation is a form of involvement that occurs due to external encouragement, such as direct invitations from candidates, success teams, or organized social networks.

Mufidah et al. (2019) emphasized that autonomous participation has a more significant contribution to strengthening democracy because it reflects the political maturity of individuals. In TTU, the autonomous participation of millennials often arises from social closeness with candidates, shared visions in regional development, or previous involvement in community social activities. For example, many young voters who are active in youth organizations or hobby communities translate their social involvement into political support based on personal assessments of candidates' capacities.

Participation in the form of mobilization remains the dominant strategy in the TTU regional election campaign, especially in rural areas. This strategy utilizes networks of family, friendship, and customary structures to invite voters to attend campaigns or to vote for specific candidates. Mobilization is carried out through a combination of face-to-face approaches and digital media - Facebook, WhatsApp groups, and messenger are used as quick coordination tools. Zulkarnaen (2020) notes that millennials, despite being techsavvy, still respond to personal invitations that are direct, especially if the invitation comes from figures they respect.

The driving factors of autonomous participation in TTU include:

- Access to extensive information through social media and local media.
- 2. Political education from experiences in organizations at school and in the community, as emphasized by Bulqiyah et al. (2023) in their study on school political culture.
- 3. The growing values of independence among urban millennials in TTU, who are more critical of campaign promises.

Factors driving mobilization participation include:

- 1. Strong kinship and customary ties, where political choices are often seen as a form of loyalty to the community.
- 2. The influence of local figures such as village heads, religious leaders, or seniors in the youth community.
- 3. Campaign resources that facilitate transportation or logistics to attend political activities.

Understanding the balance between autonomous participation and mobilization is crucial for designing ethical

and effective campaign strategies from the perspective of local political management. Candidates who can combine a personalized approach based on local customs with the provision of transparent information in the digital space tend to be more successful in garnering millennial support.

These two patterns often overlap in practice within the community. A millennial, for instance, might initially be mobilized through the invitation of their community, but then develop autonomous participation after being exposed to convincing information. Conversely, those who initially participate autonomously may later become involved in mobilization activities to invite others. This phenomenon indicates that millennial political participation in TTU is dynamic and contextual, influenced by the interaction between digital technology, local culture, and existing social networks.

This dynamics can be well understood as the TTU Pilkada can serve as a learning model for other regions in managing the political participation of the youth sustainably, where political autonomy remains a goal, but community-based mobilization is not neglected as a means of expanding the reach of participation.

Table 2. Comparison of Autonomous Participation and Mobilization of Millennial Voters in the 2020 TTU Regional

Election Aspect Autonomous Mobilization Participation **Participation** Definition Political Political involvement due involvement invitations to or based encouragement from other on awareness and parties (political personal choice actors/communities) Main Shared values. Lovalty to the community. Motivation development kinship, or certain figures vision, objective Information from local assessment figures, success teams, candidates face-to-face campaigns Source media, of Social Information from Information local media. figures, success teams, independent face-to-face campaigns discussions Example Attending Attending campaigns because invited, sharing Activities campaigns due to interest in issues, campaign content from creating community groups supportive content, online debates Driving Political The bond of tradition/kinship, Factors education, the internet access, influence of figures, organizational transportation/logistics facilities for campaigns experience Strengthening Expanding the reach of Advantages democracy, campaigns, strengthening increasing community cohesion Risks political literacy transactional of participation or less critical engagement Potential Participation Attending campaigns because invited, sharing Weaknesses limited to information-savy campaign content from individuals community groups. Example voters Young voters participate in Young TTU choose candidates campaigns because they are based on track invited by village heads or record and real traditional leaders

programs

This table compares two main patterns of millennial political participation in TTU Regency during the 2020 regional elections, namely autonomous participation and mobilized participation, each of which has its own characteristics, advantages, and disadvantages.

Autonomous participation is defined as political engagement that arises from personal awareness and individual free choice. Voters who participate autonomously are generally motivated by shared values, a development vision, and an objective assessment of candidate quality. The sources of information used come from social media, local media, and independent discussions that enable voters to critically evaluate issues. Activities include attending campaigns due to interest in specific issues, creating supportive content, and debating online to strengthen political positions. Driving factors for this type of participation include adequate political education, internet access, organizational experience. Its advantage lies in its contribution to strengthening democracy and enhancing political literacy, although its weakness is the limited reach to individuals who have good access and information literacy skills. A real example in TTU is young voters who choose candidates based on their track record and concrete programs, not just personal closeness.

Conversely, mobilization participation is a political engagement that occurs due to invitations or encouragement from political actors, community leaders, or specific communities. The main motivation stems from loyalty to the community, kinship, or influential local figures. Political information is obtained through traditional channels, such as community leaders, success teams, or face-to-face campaigns conducted in villages. This activity usually involves attending campaigns because of invitations, or sharing campaign content distributed in community groups. The driving factors include strong customary or kinship ties, the influence of charismatic figures, and logistical support such as transportation provided by success teams. The advantage of this model is its ability to expand the reach of campaigns and strengthen community cohesion, but its weakness lies in the risk of participation being transactional or lacking critical engagement with issues and candidates. An example in TTU is is young voters who attend campaigns because they are directly invited by the village head or local traditional leaders.

Overall, this table shows that the success of local election governance in TTU requires recognition of the existence of both models of participation. Autonomous participation encourages the quality of democracy through critical and independent voters, while mobilization participation ensures broad community involvement, especially in areas with limited access to information. The integration of both, through the synergy between social media and community networks, is the key to creating an inclusive and effective collective political process.

$\label{eq:continuous} \textbf{Integration of Social Media and Local Political Traditions in TTU}$

The socio-cultural context of Timor Tengah Utara (TTU) is marked by strong collective values, a tradition of deliberation, and a consensus-based decision-making system. Local political culture places the community at the center of political interaction, where important decisions are usually discussed in customary forums or community meetings before being implemented. This character has direct implications for

the way social media is used in political contests, including the 2020 regional elections.

Lim (2014) asserts that the effectiveness of social media in promoting political participation highly depends on its social context. In the case of TTU, Facebook does not replace faceto-face interactions, but rather serves as a supplement. Social media becomes an initial space for information exchange and discussion, while collective decision-making continues to take place through face-to-face forums, such as traditional meetings, village meetings, or informal gatherings among citizens.

This forms a hybrid campaign model, which is a political communication strategy that combines digital technology with a community-based customary approach. In this model, media such as Facebook is used to: 1. Spread initial information about the candidate's program and vision. 2. Build a political narrative that aligns with local values, such as mutual assistance and village development. 3. Invite the community to face-to-face forums or campaign events.

Meanwhile, the face-to-face forum serves to: 1. Validate information circulating on social media. 2. Strengthen collective commitment through the deliberative process. 3. Resolve differences of opinion directly with a mediator from traditional or community leaders.

Postill (2012) describes this phenomenon as an intersection between the digital public space and traditional public space, where online interactions expand the reach of communication, yet ultimate legitimacy is still obtained through offline interactions. Northold also emphasizes that the integration of technology into local political culture can enhance participation, as long as the technology is used to strengthen, not replace, existing social mechanisms.

A concrete example from the 2020 TTU local elections shows that many political support decisions were made after a series of layered interactions: 1. Digital stage – Candidate information was shared on Facebook, including campaign schedules and work programs. 2. Digital discussion stage – Residents discussed in the comment section or online groups, exchanging opinions and clarifying issues. 3. Face-to-face stage – Online discussions continued with physical meetings at village halls or traditional leaders' homes to discuss common choices. 4. Consolidation stage – Collective decisions were formally announced, and residents began to gather support according to the results of the deliberation.

This pattern reflects a form of adaptive local political management—utilizing technology to accelerate the dissemination of information and coordination, while still maintaining collective values as the foundation for decision-making. Thus, the integration of social media and local political traditions in TTU is not only a technological phenomenon but also a social process that maintains continuity between political modernization and cultural heritage.

The implication of this finding is that campaign strategies in areas like TTU must consider the alignment between digital messaging and local values. Candidates who solely rely on digital strategies without strengthening personal relationships in the community tend to fail in building long-term support. Conversely, the integration of both allows for the creation of a strong support base, broad participation, and more robust political legitimacy.

Implications for Regional Head Election Governance

The findings of this research indicate that the governance of the local election (Pilkada) in Timor Tengah Utara (TTU) does not occur separately between the formal structure of election organizers and informal social networks, but rather through an integrative model that combines both. This model produces a form of political governance that is more adaptive and contextual, where the legitimacy of the electoral process is measured not only by compliance with formal regulations but also by social acceptance at the community level.

Northold (1971) emphasizes that collaboration between formal and informal actors is a crucial factor in ensuring political legitimacy, particularly in areas with strong-rooted social structures.

In the context of TTU, this collaboration is reflected in several key mechanisms:

- Coordination between election organizers and local communities – Organizers utilize traditional leaders, religious figures, and networks of civil society organizations as mediators to ensure equitable participation.
- Synergy of successful teams with local social norms –
 Campaign strategies are adjusted to the customs and
 habits of the community, for example, avoiding open
 conflict in public spaces to maintain social harmony.
- 3. Utilization of social media as a rapid coordination tool Facebook and online groups are used to disseminate official information while clarifying circulating issues, thus reducing the potential for misinformation.

The political participation data of the millennials (Table 1) provides a concrete picture of the youth's contribution to the governance of regional elections. As many as 45% of millennials are involved as candidate sympathizers, indicating their significant role in shaping public opinion. Engagement as election organizing committee members (15%) reflects a direct contribution to the technical organization of elections, while contact with politicians (20%) and roles as success teams/volunteers (12%) affirm that millennials are active in both formal and informal domains.

The implication is that the governance of local elections in TTU needs to maintain a hybrid approach that combines:

- Formal structure: mechanisms of the KPU (Election Commission), Bawaslu (Election Supervision Agency), and regulatory frameworks that ensure transparency and accountability.
- Informal structure: community-based social networks, customary norms, and deliberative traditions as mechanisms of social legitimization.

This approach is not only relevant for TTU but can also serve as a model for other regions with similar socio-cultural characteristics. Integrating social media into customary deliberation mechanisms strengthens inclusive political communication channels while maintaining social cohesion.

This combination enables the creation of a collective political process where every stage of political agenda formation, campaigning, and election monitoring involves the active participation of citizens in the perspective of local political management. In other words, the regional elections in TTU are not just a competition arena for candidates, but also a forum for democratic learning that brings together modern technology with local wisdom.

The governance model of the TTU Regional Election that combines formal and informal mechanisms opens up space for the development of further research in three main directions in the long term. First, comparative studies across regions with similar socio-cultural characteristics to test whether this integration model can be replicated or requires specific

adaptations. Second, longitudinal analysis of the role of social media in strengthening or shifting local political traditions along with changes in voter generations. Third, deeper studies on the role of the youth as a bridge between the digital world and the indigenous community, given their strategic position in linking these two interactive spaces.

Thus, the governance of the TTU regional elections is not only relevant as a local phenomenon but also has the potential to serve as a conceptual model for formulating political participation strategies in other regions that wish to integrate digital innovation with the sustainability of community-based democratic values.

CONCLUSIONS

The regional elections in the North Central Timor Regency in 2020 not only represented an electoral selection process but also served as a space for the implementation of collective political governance managed by various local actors, especially the millennial generation. The high level of political participation among millennials and the various roles they played in the election process demonstrate that they are not only political objects but also key actors in mediating, mobilizing, and constructing local political narratives. Social media, particularly Facebook, has become a strategic medium for expanding the reach of political communication, building emotional closeness between voters and candidates, and strengthening community-based support networks and traditional values.

This process emphasizes the importance of understanding local elections (Pilkada) as part of the practice of local political management that is not only formal and procedural, but also social, cultural, and digital. Patronage relations, collective values, and two-way communication through social media demonstrate that local democracy in TTU occurs through consensus and collaboration among actors.

Organizers and policymakers need to adopt a participatory approach in the design of regional elections, allowing greater space for meaningful engagement of millennial voters. There is a need to strengthen political digital literacy at the local level so that political participation developing on social media is not only expressive but also substantive and critical. Further research is recommended to delve deeper into the role of social networks and local cultural values in shaping political consensus and maintaining government stability post-regional elections.

REFERENCES

- Asimakopoulos, G., Antonopoulou, H., Giotopoulos, K., & Halkiopoulos, C. (2025). Impact of information and communication technologies on democratic processes and citizen participation. *Societies*, 15(2), 40.
- Bulqiyah, H., Kartikasari, D. W., & Taek, P. A. G. (2023). Karakter Pemilih Pemula di Kabupaten Tuban: Adaptasi Budaya Politik Sekolah. *Jurnal Pemerintahan dan Politik*, 8(2), 87–93.
- Crick, B. (1992). *In Defence of Politics. Fourth Edition*. Lomdon: Penguin.
- Coleman, S. (2013). *How Voters Feel*. Cambridge University Press
- Huntington, S.P., & Nelson, J.M. (1994). Partisipasi Politik di Negara Berkembang. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Lim, M. (2014). Klik yang Tak Memantik: Aktivisme Media Sosial di Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, 3(1), 35–49.

- Mufidah, A., Affifudin, & Khoiron. (2019). Pengaruh Faktor Otonom dan Faktor Mobilisasi Terhadap Mahasiswa Rantau Dalam Pemilu 2019. *Jurnal Respon Publik*, 13(5), 39–47.
- Nordholt, H. G. S. (1971). *The Political System of the Atoni of Timor*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Pierre, J., & Peters, B.G. (2000). *Governance, Politics and the State*. New York: St Martin's Press
- Pohle, J., & Voelsen, D. (2022). Centrality and power. The struggle over the techno-political configuration of the Internet and the global digital order. *Policy & Internet*, 14(1), 13-27.
- Postill, J. (2012). Digital Politics and Political Engagement. In H. Horst & D. Miller (Eds.), *Digital Anthropology* (pp. 1–19). Berg Publishers.
- Saud, M., & Margono, H. (2021). Indonesia's rise in digital democracy and youth's political participation. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 18(4), 443-454.

- Suni, M. (2021). Dampak Media Facebook Terhadap Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Milenial pada Pilkada 2020 (Studi Deskriptif Kualitatif Pada Pilkada Kabupaten Timor Tengah Utara tahun 2020). Jurnal Poros Politik. 3(2). 16-24
- Usboko, I., Suni, M., & Regif, S.Y. (2024). Dampak Media Sosial terhadap Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Milenial dalam Percaturan Politik Lokal. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Pemerintahan*, 10(2). 1-14
- Van Tatenhove, J. P., & Leroy, P. (2020). Environment and participation in a context of political modernisation. In *The Ecological Modernisation Reader* (pp. 190-206). Routledge.
- Zulkarnaen, F. (2020). Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Milenial pada Pemilu di Indonesia. *Jurnal Politikon Indonesia: Kajian Ilmu Pemerintahan, Ilmu Politik dan Ilmu Komunikasi*, 5(2), 55–63.